[9 cont.]

115 that is, mountain spirit, because he was consecrated to the
[776] mountain spirit when he was named. He was born under the sign
553 of the sheep, that is, in the second month; according to
European reckoning, this would be March, 1883.

805 Like all Tujen, the old man is a Lamaist and adheres
771 to the faith and the customs of his fathers. He is known throughout the vicinity as one of the few who are still very well versed in the traditional customs. For that reason he is asked to perform everywhere as master of ceremonies, festive speaker, overseer of sacrifices, and singer. If anyone in that region is asked about usages and customs, the usual answer is: "Go to old Tuo, he knows it best."

115 In addition he has the advantage, rare among the Tujen,
212 of having completed the Chinese classical school. He can read
[871] and write very well, better than most of his Chinese neighbors. He understands without difficulty history books, classical authors, local chronicles, etc., which in part are written in the literary
[191] language. He does not have a sufficient command of the Fandse language to be able to speak it fluently, but he knows the terms of the lamas and is able to distinguish fairly well as to whether a word is a genuine Tujen word or a Fandse word. He himself in his youth took down in Chinese characters a considerable number of Fandse songs, which he can translate and explain, as well as some legends and speeches. He claims that formerly the Tujen language was also written and that the script has simply been lost. -- He does not speak the language of the Koko
115 Nor Mongols, but he claims that it could be understood if neces-
191 sary. Of course the Tujen live too far away from the Mongols;
[648] only those in the vicinity of Huchu have a loose connection with the Mongols on the Tai-t'ung River beyond the Monastery Kuo-mang-szu.

124 [10] In the beginning it was not easy to persuade the old man, who for 20 years had not even been in nearby Sining, to visit me at the mission station at Kan-chia-pu, although the way there was only a two-hour ride. In the late fall of 1946 he came once for only a day. At that time I questioned him about the harvest thank-offering; the result was an article which appeared in Anthropos, 37/40. The old man could not imagine what I

[14 cont.]

115 people with whom he was so well acquainted. As a kin-group
124 father, he was accustomed to a free life as his own master, and all compulsion was hateful to him.

Finally it should be taken into account that for a native it is not easy to pick out what seems worth knowing to the stranger. Everything is self-evident to him. And even the stranger cannot exhaustively inquire into all the details at one time, or even at the third or fourth time. But even in this respect the old man assisted me as much as possible.

5. The Taking of Notes

124 The conversations and questioning always took place in
191 Chinese, a language which all Tujen men and almost all Tujen women speak, except when they are among themselves. Now-
[871] adays there are schools in most of the villages, in which Chinese is the prescribed language of instruction. Since I was still on the point of learning the Tujen language, Chinese was the only one possible, and in view of our mutual familiarity with this language the possibility of a misunderstanding was very slight. In case of obscurities in the dialect, the old man was always able to give the corresponding Chinese signs; he then explained the meaning by various circumlocutions.

124 The old man proceeded from the assumption that I
126 wanted to learn the Tujen language. He therefore dictated to me brief sentences about a certain object, which I took down; for instance, "The lama is coming. They are sweeping the house. They are burning incense. Lamps are placed on the table, etc. ..." Unfortunately I did not keep these sentences. Afterwards he repeated the sense for me in Chinese; some explanations of words were added. That was the first report each time. I immediately wrote this down in German. Sometimes it was very brief, sometimes somewhat longer. In every case, however, the course of an action, the peculiarity of a ceremony, etc. were briefly and concisely summarized. Since I was actually not primarily concerned with the language, but rather with the content, I asked for supplementary details after each report, at times immediately following, and at times only in

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gin to consider as barbarians. When a Monguor family starts losing its identity, no more children become lamas, relations with the monasteries vanish, and no more alms are offered. A lamasery situated in a Chinese environment cannot maintain itself. The schools with Chinese teachers, established in the country, exert a baneful influence on the recruiting; boys who attend Chinese schools no longer become lamas.

The bulk of the endless number of lamas was provided in former times by the Monguors and Tibetans of Huang-chung. At the time Erh-ku-lung, Seerkok, and T'ien-t'ang ssu rode the crest of the wave of glory and learning, a respectable number of Mongols of Kukunor and Mongolia; and Tibetans of Kukunor, enrolled in the monasteries of Huang-chung, but this glorious time has long vanished. Kumbum, possessing very rich revenues, is now the only prosperous lamasery in the region; a number of Mongols and Tibetans from Kukunor are on its roster. Since the troubles with the Dalai Lama (1909) very few Tibetans from Tibet proper visit and live at Kumbum (1910–1920). At present, in most of the monasteries, the population consists of older lamas and young boys. At Seerkok, Ch'ü-t'an, and T'ien-t'ang a lot of Chinese or Sinicized Monguor lamas are enrolled, even Chinese boys, mostly children of poor Chinese families. The lamas of Erh-ku-lung asserted that these monasteries were on the way to losing the real monastic spirit. Seerkok in 1723 had two thousand lamas; in 1890, according to Rockhill,[1] it still had seven hundred lamas; in 1910 only about three hundred. Four hundred lamas deserted the monastery during the last twenty years, disgusted by the public misbehavior of the supreme chief of the monastery.

He was the second reincarnation of the glorious Min chu-erh Hutukhtu, author of the celebrated *Geography of Tibet and Mongolia*, well known in Europe. Seerkok, in order to retrieve its former position, managed to reincarnate two of its small Living Buddhas, one in Mongolia, the other in Tibet, pinning its hope on fresh recruits from Mongolia and Tibet. However, the Chinese element among the lamas was already too strong. Chinese lamas had forged ahead and were invested with the most important offices, which kept new recruits away. Without doubt, another cause contributing to the lack of candidates was the troubled situation existing in the monasteries of the country. One after another, they passed through harrowing experiences which caused their ruin. This predicament, of their own making, sets the tongues of the people wagging, brings disrepute on the institutions, and disgusts the parents to the extent they refuse their boys permission to join the lama corps. These seem to be the two important reasons causing the lack of candidates.

[1] W. W. Rockhill, *Land of the lamas*, 98, New York, Century, 1891.

[p. 54 (B)]

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of the members of a college, at the time they enter, have previously received only the training of ordinary lamas, which consists of learning to read and write more or less correctly. Old lamas, as well as young Wendees, from the time they fulfill these two conditions, are allowed to apply for membership if the colleges have an appeal for them. A lama is not compelled to enter any college. If he does, the manner of joining or leaving a college is the same as described for joining or leaving the community of the lamas. Every lama is allowed to remain a member of a college for as long as the appeal of the college persists, and usually he remains a member for the whole of his lifetime. 792 794 873

Each college is an independent unit within the lamasery, having its own wealth and administration, its own temple, administrative buildings, and residence for its Fa-t'ai. The administration of the colleges is built on the pattern of the organization of the community of the lamas, with the same kinds of officials, and enjoying the same kinds of autonomous rights and privileges.

The four colleges are: (1) The College of Philosophy and Metaphysics, (2) The College of Ritual, Magic and Astrology, (3) The College of Medicine, and (4) The College of Sacred Scripture and Monastic Rules. [871]

In Huang-chung at present (1910–1920) nothing more is required from the members of a college than attendance at the ceremonies in its temple and at the instruction given by the Fa-t'ai on a few fixed dates. There are no regular courses with compulsory attendance, no program of studies is required to be completed within a certain number of years, there are no compulsory examinations, and no obligation to take any degree or diploma. No director supervises the studies of the members of the college; studies are a personal matter, depending on the initiative of each individual.

A lama who has some feeling for study, who possesses some money provided by his family, or whose master is willing to spend some money for his education, goes to see a learned lama taking with him some meat, noodles, raisins, sugar, and some money, and prostrates himself, offering the ceremonial scarf and asking the lama to be his teacher. Usually, three or four lamas manage to become pupils of the same master. At fixed times they have to bring presents to the teacher. The study of the book designated by the master starts with committing the text to memory, and recitation before the master. Two or three times a week the master takes time to hear the recitation. Student and master are in no hurry; once in a while the master is too busy to teach, or one of the students is prevented from attending the lesson. The students all engage in domestic duties. Their capacities and fervor for study are not the same. After a few weeks one of them is memorizing the fourth, one the tenth sheet, and so on. After several weeks more, a couple of them have no further desire for study and drop out. [875] [876]

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whole community lavishly entertained. The guests were entertained at the intendancy. After dinner, 400 taels instead of 500 taels were presented to the parents. Then the guests, bursting with righteous indignation, started cursing the intendancy and a feverish discussion broke up in a violent wrangle. In the scurry and confusion and unexpected hurly burly, all the lamas of the monastery and the intendants arrived to patch up the trouble. The 500 taels were paid. After ten years I heard the people of Li-chia-t'ai still cursing the intendancy.

In 1894 the intendancy of T'u-kuan got into trouble over its last incarnation. A lama boy, seven years of age, who lived at the lamasery of Ku-ch'eng which belonged to the Lu T'u-ssu, was recognized as the incarnation of T'u-kuan. Lu T'u-ssu, the lamas of Ku-ch'eng, the family of the boy, and the entire village objected, and did not allow the boy to abandon the monastery without having the intendancy pay 5,000 taels to the family. The most influential mediators were invited by Erh-ku-lung in order to find a compromise. Sheep and cows were killed every day, plenty of wine distilled, and lamas and the whole village had a wonderful time enjoying dinners and drinks for ten days. Finally the compromise was reached that 3,600 taels should be paid to the family and various gifts offered to the T'u-ssu, the intendancy of Ku-ch'eng, the members of the family, and the mediators. The intendancy of T'u-kuan, which was known all over the country to be rich and wealthy, the lamas, the whole of Ku-ch'eng, and the family of the new incarnation, thus seized the opportunity to share in their own way a part of the honor befallen to Erh-ku-lung by discovery of the reincarnation.

It happens, however, that once in a while the horoscope seems to be cast in the wrong way. A nephew of T'u-kuan, two years of age, was recognized to be the incarnation of the minor Living Buddha Kao of Ch'ie-bzan. At five years of age, upon the death of his parents, he was taken to the intendancy, but seemed to be an idiot. In 1918, at thirty years of age, he was still only allowed to leave the intendancy once a month, in order to climb the mountain to the Obo and to burn incense.

EDUCATION OF THE MONGUOR LIVING BUDDHAS

Usually at the age of seven or eight the new Living Buddha is brought to the lamasery, led by a splendid procession of lamas, and installed in the luxurious intendancy, where a group of lama servants scrape and fawn in his presence, cater to his whims, and do his bidding.

The Orient is the country of decorum; the traditional splendor of the oriental courts is proverbial. The Living Buddhas of all the sects are extremely fond of decorum, and try to impress the uncivilized people by a display of munificence and wealth. For this reason

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even minor Living Buddhas live in luxurious residences, with a private chapel and servants. Admittance to the Living Buddha is very complicated; no one is even allowed to enter the kitchen, at the entrance of which, when the Living Buddha is present, is a high stone, whitewashed and covered with a ceremonial scarf.

The first duty of the intendant is to acquire for his new master two lama teachers of good repute and extensive learning, in order to provide for the education of the pupil. The first lessons consist of training the boy, grooming him for a big throne, to handle the protocol, as one to the manner born. The new pupil, clad in shining garments of embroidered silk, has to learn again and again to proceed with a stately, measured tread to his throne, which is draped with silk of royal yellow; to sit down gracefully, adjusting his clothes decently, and wearing a professional smile. He has to be trained by constant repetition to handle with elegance the stick with tufted end, and with solemnity to touch with it the heads of adoring pilgrims, nodding his head at the same time and smiling with calmness and serenity.

An old master told me that it takes weeks and weeks before a pupil sits well in the saddle, and that after months and months the exercises always have to be repeated, because, he said, the dignity of the pupil and the repute of the master are involved. At the same time, he said, the teacher has to instill in the pupil the idea of the eminence of his state in life, to make him conscious that the people adore him and that he really can procure the salvation of all beings. He has to explain his illustrious pedigree in order to enhance in him the sense of his dignity.[25]

No wonder that travelers meeting Living Buddhas, particularly young Living Buddhas, are impressed by the serious omnipotent look on their faces. It is a common saying that all Orientals are born actors, and the joke is well known, "Dress a beggar with the clothes of a governor of a province, and he will immediately play his role to the peak of perfection." Living Buddhas, however, receive an intensive training.

The little Living Buddha then starts reading and writing, memorizing texts and repeating them before his masters, who inflict corporal punishment when he fails to measure up to their expectations. The master, after punishing the pupil, kneels before him and apologizes for having been compelled to mete out punishment to so eminent a Living Buddha. It would seem that Living Buddhas, like ordinary lamas, are not very interested in poring over books and racking their brains over philosophical problems. The last T'u-kuan, born in 1894, had two masters, one from Erh-ku-lung and one sent by his friend the Living Buddha of Labrang. The master from Labrang, after some years, gave up all hope of making a learned man of his pupil, and packed

[25] Schuyler Cammann, *The land of the camel*, 79, 80, 94, New York, Ronald Press, 1950. Rynhart, *op. cit.*, 127, 128.

his bag and returned to Labrang. The master of the well-known bridge-builder, Temna, convinced that his pupil was not of the stuff of which philosophers are made, saddled his horse and went back home. It seems that such instances often occur. 792 875

Bit by bit, I pieced together the interesting curriculum of T'u-kuan. At seven years of age he entered the intendancy of Erh-ku-lung; at nine years of age he was sent to Labrang (two weeks riding on horseback) to study with a couple of young Living Buddhas there; at twelve he was back in Erh-ku-lung, at thirteen he went to Peking, and congratulated the Emperor at New Year's; at only sixteen years of age he was back at Erh-ku-lung; at seventeen he returned to Labrang for study; at nineteen he went back to Erh-ku-lung and went on a vacation with his family for four months. 792 871 484

After that he went with an expedition collecting alms among the Uigurs of Kan-chou and Su-chou, and on a second one to Mongolia, which took three and one-half years. His studies lasted over a period of seven or eight years, with intermissions of several years. It is said that the masters of the Living Buddhas never leave their pupils; they accompany them on the journeys and are said to teach philosophy and metaphysics while riding horseback during the whole of the journey. Most of the Living Buddhas and Lamas, however, go through life with only a sketchy background in Lamaist learning. [875]

What about the frame of mind and the religious formation, the interior spiritual life, the meditations and contemplations of Living Buddhas who, from the prime of life, are fed on unwholesome values by a master, swelling their pride, flaunting their superiority above others, and inflating their self-importance? What of the consequences to the minds and hearts of these teen-agers of basking continually in the adulation of a group of flattering admirers, who feign to have for them a feeling that is little short of idolatrous, being always wrapped in a shining coat of adoration, wearing a look of portentous solemnity, as if the face wore a mask? Without doubt some of them are carried away with their own play-acting and like to move in this misty land of Utopia. Probably for many of them the scales will, one day or another, weigh down their eyes and bear evidence of their loss of touch with reality. 792 156

An old teacher of Living Buddhas once revealed to me that the biggest problem for teachers is to keep young men, for whom studies have not the slightest appeal, occupied all day long. They are bored by their dull and uneventful life and, upon coming of age, strike out for themselves. They have outgrown the time when corporal punishment could be inflicted. They fritter the time away on trifles, on investigating all the vices of life among the servants and former novices of their previous incarnations. They play chess and cards, and, lazing the time away, they prepare their own ruin. A large number of them are buds that will never bloom. 792 875

villagers, who also did not permit such liberties to Living Buddhas. Feeling the stigma attached to his exposure, he committed suicide. It also seems to be evidenced by the fact that penalties are still inflicted upon lamas, in the crudest forms, for infraction of this rule. This stigma is still attached to those who fail to meet their moral obligations.

The reform by means of serious study, however, seems to be a failure among the Monguor lamas of the present times. Among so many Monguor Living Buddhas and lamas, only the Living Buddha Chao-hsi of Kumbum enjoyed some repute, but in order to cause the lamas to attend his instructions, special benefits had to be provided for them. Very few among the Living Buddhas and lamas are interested in study at the present time, and, having nothing to occupy them all day, become involved in vice. Army officers and directors of schools are aware of the necessity of keeping young folk busy the whole day long, alternating fixed jobs with recreation. The lamas, however, except for attendance at the morning convention, which lasts only an hour, have to kill time making their own living.

In the whole region of Hsining not a single school has been established by the rich monasteries, in order to promote the instruction of the Monguors and the Tibetans. Even at present in the lamaseries not a single elementary school exists for the lama boys, and no religious education is given to them. Not a single lama takes care of the spiritual needs and instruction of the adherents to their religion who live in a given area. Not a single hospital has been founded in order to assuage the pains and sufferings of the sick Monguors and Tibetans. The universal charity of Lamaism does not consist in love for one's neighbor, but in a platonic compassion for the universal sufferings of humanity and of all living things and for the impermanence of all existing beings. Lamas are not sisters of charity; they pass the sick draped in their cloak of indifference.[29]

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[29] Kawaguchi, *op. cit.*, 373, notes: "Among Buddhist believers there has been scarcely anyone who has ever given any thought to social problems. The priests of ancient times were generally recluses who paid no attention whatever to the application of their religion to the needs of the practical world or to making the principles of true Buddhism as distinct as possible."

Kawaguchi, a learned Japanese Buddhist, conversant with the Tibetan language and literature, went to Tibet to study Lamaism, and wrote an instructive note on Lamaism (p. 410). "I confine myself only to a popular exposition of the subject. Lamaism is constituted by two main branches; the older, the 'red cap sect' subdivided into many branches, and the later, the 'yellow cap sect.' They all agree upon cardinal points and in the formula for attaining perfection. The founder of the old sect was a Tantric priest, 'Lobon Padma Chungne' born in Cabul. He enjoined on his disciples the practices of flesh-eating, marriage, and drinking liquors, in order to attain Buddhahood . . . details I cannot give, for they are full of obscenity. The old sect, extremely popular in Tibet, has undergone considerable modification by lamas. . . . I note the reaction against the old sect by Atisha [from India, eleventh century], later by Tsong Khapa [fifteenth century]. The principle of Tsong Khapa was that priesthood must stand on asceticism. Therefore he urged

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Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*a*) had fought with the Chinese army.

In 1463 the Pa Sha tribe made a foray again in the Sa-t'ang Valley but was repelled (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 12*a*; *Annals* of Kansu 46: 28*a*).

In 1464 again the Pa Sha tribe raided Huangchung. This time the Chinese army entered their country and exterminated some of their tribes (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 28*b*).

T'u-ssu Lu followed the commanders Liu Yu and Shih Hsiang-chung in 1468, repelling the brigand Manssu in Ku Yuan. He fled to his fortress Shih-ch'eng. The army, having lost many soldiers, finally captured the fortress; the brigand was captured, sent to Peking, and killed (*Annals* of Kansu 46: 29*a*).

In 1470 T'ing Chang built more schools in Hsining. Shih Chao had built the first schools in 1428 (*Annals* of Kansu 31: 12*b*).

In 1472 T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to help repel the Ordos Mongols making raids in Yenan and Suei-te. At the same time incursive Mongol tribes made forays in the regions of Chin-pien-i (Ku-lang). T'u-ssu Yeh (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*a*), T'u-ssu Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49*b*), T'u-ssu Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), followed the Chinese troops, beat the brigands and pursued them as far as Hua-ling-erh.

T'u-ssu Li Wen and Commander Liu Wen were sent to Hami in 1473 to investigate the troubled conditions prevailing in the country. Having secured the promise of help from the Ch'ih-chin and Han Tun tribes, they sent an army to Hami in 1474. Upon the arrival of the army both tribes refused to move. Li Wen, deeming his forces too feeble to fight the enemy, returned to Kansu.

In 1475 Emperor Hsien Tsung ordered the local officials to erect an honorific arch in front of the mansion of the T'u-ssu Lu Chien, granting the inscription *"During his life he confirmed his faithfulness and probity, incessantly he exercised fidelity and zeal."*

It has been noted that the erection of the spirit way stele in honor of Li Yin happened in the very same year, 1475.

In 1480 T'u-ssu Lu Chien was promoted lieutenant colonel in Hsining.

In 1482 the tribes of Ch'ih-chin and Han Tun with the help of Chinese troops and T'u-ssu Yeh (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52*a*), Chao (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 48*b*), attacked and conquered Hami.

In 1488, ninety years after the surrender of the *t'u-ssu* in a group in Huangchung (1371), there was appointed a military and administrative tao t'ai (ping pi tao), a governor, vested with civil and military powers (*Annals* of Hsining 22: 5*b*; 23: 4*a–b*) with residence in the city of Hsining. There was also established a bureau of customs, and a bureau of colonization. In the city of Nienpei, in the strongholds of Chinghai, Kuei Te was appointed a major, in the fortress in the

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is fighting must be fought, but always at the same time the tribes should be induced to surrender peacefully. The debates lasted for seven years and nothing was done (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 10*b*, 11*a*). Finally in 1530 the Tibetan tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou started plundering the country. The tribes had fled from Kokonor for fear of the Mongols. Their destitution was tragic. Commander Liu Wen-yu, protagonist of the third group, left with his army, but at the same time sent officials to induce the tribes to surrender, promising them help. Among them only twenty-one tribes decided to revolt, the Lung-po (Uighur) tribe being the leader of the group. The commander defeated two tribes, killed 360 rebels and then started peace talks. He succeeded, receiving the surrender of seventy or more tribes. He returned with the army. The regions of T'ao and Ming Chou were at peace.

The same year, while the tribes of T'ao and Ming Chou, situated south of the Yellow River, were pacified, the Tsantsa tribes, living on the northern bank of the Tatung River, plundered the region of Nienpei, but were defeated in the T'u-ku-hung valley. Splinter groups of Mongols raided Chengfan, and small groups of Kokonor brigands invaded Hsining and were pursued.

In 1534, amidst all these troubles, the Ming dynasty was still interested in education and instruction. More schools were built in several small fortresses, and in Hsining the Hall of the Faithful and Meritorious officials was constructed. On the stele erected inside the hall, we read among the names of the celebrated personalities those of four Monguor t'u-ssu: Li Nan-ko, Li Yin, the Duke of Huei-ming, his son, T'u-ssu Ch'eng Chih, and T'u-ssu Li Ch'ang, son of Li Yin (*Annals* of Hsining 35: 9*b*, 10*a*).

The situation grew worse every day and all of Huangchung was upset. Liu T'ien-ho, vice-president of the ministry of war, was sent in 1536 to direct the military operations in Kansu and Shensi. The third son of Dayan, Barsa Bolot, with his son, the Jinong had settled in Ordos. The turbulent Jinong made raids in Ninghsia, Liang and Kanchow. T'u-ssu Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40), Na (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 49), Hsin (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 54), were ordered to help stem the forays. T'u-ssu Hsin died on the field of battle. The Jinong invaded Hsining and hit a severe blow. T'u-ssu Lu and Ah (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 52) helped the commander beat the Jinong.

The next year the Kokonor brigands made a raid in Hsining and were severely beaten, twice, at the temple T'ieh-fu, 50 li north of the city.

General Liu T'ien-ho, having studied the situation of the country, ordered first the repair of the walls and towers of the eighteen existing small fortresses and villages and cities, and to start immediately with the building of seventeen new fortified villages. He promoted agriculture around the fortresses, dug irrigation

canals, helped the people with grain and oxen, etc. He built the two large cities of Pa-yien-jung and San-ch'uan, south of Nienpei, and established there two strong garrisons, in order to control the whole region north of the Yellow River, reaching from the south of Hsining to Nienpei (*Annals* of Kansu 24: 18; 23: 16). At that time the only fortified villages were near the mansions of the t'u-ssu, where in time of troubles the people found shelter with their cattle and helped to defend the fortress, and from which they attacked and pursued brigands. Only near these fortresses were living and farming possible. No wonder that the helpless scattered tribes incessantly revolted, plundered on their own account, or joined the invaders after having been plundered.

In 1537 groups of Ordos brigands raided the fortress of Ch[illegible]g-ch'iang-I, situated between Liangchow and Lanchow. T'u-ssu Yeh defended the fortress heroically and died in the battle. The people esteemed his brave conduct and erected a stele in commemoration inside the village.

In 1541 the Jinong from Ordos raided Hsia-ch'uan-ku in Huangchung; a crushing defeat was administered to him by General Liu T'ien-ho in Ho-shuei-wan. His son Chin-shao was killed in the battle. T'u-ssu Lu, Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38), Wang (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 40), Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45) participated in the action. Groups belonging to the Tsa tsa tribes of Huangchung plundered San-ch'uan and were chased by T'u-ssu Ch'i (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 45), and Li (*Annals* of Kansu 42: 38).

In 1543 the turbulent Jinong, leading a strong army, arrived at Kokonor, where he defeated I-pu-la, and captured half of his followers. I-pu-la fled to Mongolia plundering the Liangchow country on his way back. The Jinong was the grandson of Dayan and had a score to settle with I-pu-la, who, seceding with his tribes, had offended his grandfather Dayan. I-pu-la had raided and plundered Huangchung, had scattered or subdued and ruined the Tibetan tribes of Kokonor during thirty-four years (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 15*b*; 20: 12*a*). Pu-erh-hai, a Mongol chieftain who had joined I-pu-la in 1525, had already abandoned I-pu-la, and had hidden in the mountains to avoid the Jinong. Previously he had manifested his intention to submit to China and was better disposed toward the Tibetans. Many tribes returned to Kokonor hoping to enjoy a precarious peace for some years (*Annals* of Hsining 20: 12*b*). The same year T'u-ssu Lu was ordered to lead his troops to Tatung in Shansi province to help chase the invading Mongols.

In 1546 the emperor ordered the officials to erect an Honorific Arch glorifying the merits of T'u-ssu Lu.

Until 1549 the students in Hsining had been unable to pass the literary examination and acquire titles. This year, on account of the new regulations, diplomas were granted in Hsining.

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valley of Hsining, 60 li distant from the city on the way to Kokonor, a strong fortified city was built and a strong garrison appointed. The place controlled the western valley and the raids from Kokonor. In Chung-tsai in the Sa-t'ang valley, which so many times had been looted by invading Tibetans, a strong fortress was also built and a garrison appointed. The same dispositions were taken to improve the strength of the cities of Pa-yen-jung and San Ch'uan against brigands of Sung Shan and Ordos. For the first time troops were available to occupy permanently the strategic points in the country and from the t'u-ssu were required good soldiers to share with the Chinese troops the burden of the defense of the strongholds (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 29*b*, 30*a*). General Liu Mei-kuan started with the exploitation of iron ore in the mountains north of Hsining, three foundries were built and blacksmiths started preparing weapons to be distributed among the subdued tribes. To the nineteen tribes of Komi numbering 7,000 people, reputed first-rate warriors, were sent military instructors with weapons, to drill them. The director of colonization reported that 80,000 acres of uncultivated land were still available to farmers. To destitute Tibetans of Kokonor and East Kansu, pouring into the country every day, were given land to till and grain and oxen. Orders were sent to promote education, build schools in each village and improve existing ones (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 19*b*; 25: 23*b*; 35: 24).

In a report sent by General T'ien Yueh is encountered an interesting note relating to the education given to the people of north Kansu and Huangchung in these desperate times. In each of the schools of the city of Kanchow, sixty or seventy students attend the lessons of three teachers. In each of the schools of the cities of Kao T'ai, Shantan, Yung Ch'ang, Liangchow, Cheng Fan and Chuang Lang are encountered only thirty or forty students, in the smallest of these cities only twenty or thirty students. In each of the schools are two teachers. Then follows an exhortation to promote education (*Annals* of Hsining 33: 20*a*).

In the same year, 1596, after the brilliant victories, the country seeming radiant and everywhere walls and fortresses being built, the lamas of T'a-erh-sse (Kumbum) (situated 40 li south of Hsining) decided to build a wall around the hermitages existing at that time. In 1560 some cells had been built for ten monks and, in 1577, a small temple next to a tower whose walls enclosed the celebrated tree, the glory of Kumbum (Monguors II: 25 sq.).

The same year the brigand Ho-lo-ch'ih, feeling insecure in Kokonor, intending to leave the country and to return to Ordos, asked to pass through Huangchung. The request was refused. He passed the Yellow River, looted T'ao and Ho Chou and was pursued in his flight to the Ordos (*Annals* of Hsining 31: 20*a*).

The La-pu-erh tribe boldly repelled alone an attack of Kokonor brigands, killing fifteen brigands and cap-

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